THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Lesson of Indo-China

by Denis Warner

Nixon in the Senate

by William Costello

An Art-Lover's Bonanza

by Frank Getlein

"On the Beach"- a Review

by Stanley Kauffmann

December 14, 1959, 25 cents

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

"A Grave Sin"

★ We suppose there is no use mincing words on the matter so let us say that we think the Catholic Church is way off base in its opposition to birth control. It seems to us that the more matter-of-factly and frankly this matter is discussed the better. Pope Pius XI in a 1931 encyclical called birth control "a grave sin." A religion with 39 million adherents is entitled to believe anything it pleases. But the world's population explosion continues, and the facts of life ultimately have to be faced.

Eisenhower has now aligned himself rigidly with the Catholic Bishops, who suddenly revived the matter. His attitude is the more singular because it was an Eisenhower committee which first recommended that governmental aid be spent for birth control abroad. William H. Draper, Jr., headed the committee which reported last summer. Columnist Arthur Krock says that Draper considered side-stepping the issue but that Eisenhower himself at the time insisted on its inclusion. Respectable and dedicated men are committed to publicizing the issue, and we do not think it ever again will go away.

We sympathize with Senator Kennedy. He, and Governor Brown of California, another Catholic, deny the right of priests to lay down Presidential policy. Kennedy has said this flatly. What most Protestants fail to recognize is the gap that exists between certain official bulls and encyclicals and the common practice of most Catholics who take office. As Brown says, "We have no more difficulty than we would have as a Catholic judge in granting a divorce, even though we don't believe in divorce."

But there is another side to it. Dr. Daniel Poling charges in the current issue of his magazine, *The Christian Herald*, that Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia intervened to block Kennedy's scheduled appearance at an inter-faith meeting. The year was 1950 when young Representative Kennedy was new in politics. We doubt if he would yield to such pressure today – as he did then. But it is a fact that in certain states where Catholics are powerful, like Massachusetts and Connecticut, they have not merely blocked birth control but have attempted to interfere by law in the relationship between doctor and patient. This is an example of reverse bigotry for which we feel Kennedy must suffer. We have read a great many articles recently saying political bigotry is dead in America. Is this true or is it just that the campaign has not warmed up yet? To be brutal about it we don't think passions and prejudices have yet reached their height.

Eisenhower Abroad

★ When you read this the President will have got to Afghanistan, New Delhi and other far off places. The country is thrilling with its first Royal Tour. Next year will come an Eisenhower trip to Latin America, according to present plans, a trip to Moscow in May or June, and then another trip to the Summit. This keeps attention centered on the GOP and the Peace Issue. The GOP political motto for 1960 is "Keep Ike Airborne."

As we read about Eisenhower abroad we recall his final press conference here last week. First he swept the birth control issue under the rug. Then he was asked about the budget. He cannot speak about this without emotion. Half way through his answer he stopped, paused an impressive heartbeat, ejaculated "Ladies and gentlemen!" and really burst into the subject. The upshot was that the only way to achieve balance is to put certain national goals "on the shelf." Defense? Let us not give way to a "hysterical urge" to spend money, the President said.

The steel strike? The same stereotype answer came: it will be a "sad day" for the nation, he said, when the government interferes in collective bargaining – as though it had not already interfered, on management's side, when it applied the Taft-Hartley injunction procedure! (Incidentally we think union leader McDonald made a sound offer when he announced willingness to negotiate a settlement on the basis of recommendations to be made by the President's fact-finding board. We guess this, or something like it, will be the ultimate solution.)

Neutralism at Home

★ A quick trip last week took this writer out beyond the *New York Times* same-day-delivery perimeter: a region that few Washington newsmen want permanently to inhabit. A discouraging report came from a group of college political scientists that their students tend to avoid liberal, radical or indeed controversial causes. We had assumed that this was true in the McCarthy era but that it was no longer the case. No, said the teachers sadly, the average American undergraduate still tends to be neutral or apathetic about big public issues. The teachers were almost unanimous about this.

As our plane touched down at Detroit on the homeward journey we picked up the Sunday *New York Times*. On peeling it down to manageable size we found this quotation from James Reston: "The Democrats' main agreement is that the President has not supplied the 'leadership' required by the social, political and military revolutions of our time. And they are right. He has touched on every big issue and come to grips with none. That is the hard fact but American people won't believe it."

We have waited a long time for this. There it was, right on the editorial page of the paper, December 6, 1959.

I Swear . . .

★ Governor Rockefeller says he favors the loyalty oath for students who accept federal scholarships. Thinking it over, we agree. Let's impose virtue by oath. Wives, for example. Why not require them to swear twice a year that they have remained faithful to their husbands? It might be objected perhaps that husbands should swear, too. But this misses the point. Oaths are imposed on *inferiors*. The starveling student in his attic or the drudging wife in her kitchen – they should be taught who's boss. In America, thank God, the husband rules. What was that odd noise, Mrs. Abernathy? Oh, come now – really! Mr. Rockefeller, help! Mr. Rock . . .

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 141 Number 24 Issue 2352 December 14, 1959*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Phone: REpublic 7-8656. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950, at the post office at Washington, D.C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy 25c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address.* *Copyright © 1959, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc.*

NATO's Future

THE WEEK

3. NATO's Future; Hand-to-Mouth Planning; Proving Our Intentions; Halleck Rides High; Four Dams for One; Arterial Sclerosis; Ice-breaking in Antarctica; South African Progressives

ARTICLES

9. The Superficial Aspect by Gerald W. Johnson

10. Indo-China: Have We Learned the Lesson of the War? by Denis Warner

12. The Facts About Nixon – XI by William Costello

DEPARTMENTS

17. Books 21. Movies

22. Records 23. Correspondence

THE STAFF

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor & Publisher
Helen Fuller, Managing Editor
Selig S. Harrison, Associate Editor
Robert Evett, Books & the Arts Editor
F. R. Ruskin, Assistant to the Publisher

Contributing Editors: Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, James E. King, Jr., Helen Hill Miller, Louis H. Pollak, Howard Simons, Michael Straight

Cartoon:

13. Washington Post

The December 15 session of the NATO ministerial council, immediately preceding the Western Summit meeting in Paris, comes at a time of crisis for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. But that will be no novelty, for NATO has been in a crisis virtually from its very inception. This crisis is a result of the contradiction between its declared strategy of local resistance with tactical atomic and conventional weapons against the Soviet army, on the one hand, and the actual military strategy of all-out nuclear deterrence on the part of its most powerful members, on the other. Official declarations of NATO strategy have been implausible in view of the actual military strategy pursued by the United States and Great Britain. It is only in terms of the "plate glass" or "trip wire" strategy that NATO makes military sense. But even this warning function of NATO is bound to decrease with the increasing mechanization of the all-out nuclear deterrent which puts a premium upon total surprise.

This congenital crisis of NATO has been aggravated by the drastic changes which have occurred in the international environment since its establishment 10 years ago and to which NATO thus far has been unable to adapt itself. Ten years ago, Western Europe was actually threatened by the Red Army, and only the United States was able to protect the nations of Western Europe against this threat through its monopoly of nuclear weapons. The economic weakness of the nations of Western Europe, together with the strength of the Communist parties in some of these nations, then conjured up the acute danger of Communist conquest from within, and only American economic support could stave it off. These factors were the main reason and justification for the establishment of the North Atlantic Alliance. NATO gave the nations of Western Europe the psychological assurance that the United States was underwriting their national integrity and was capable of making good its pledge.

The situation with regard to these factors is fundamentally different today. While it would be an illusion to assume that the Soviet military threat has disappeared or even decreased, its nature has certainly changed from a local, conventional to a worldwide, nuclear one. (In Budapest last week, Premier Khrushchev boasted, "We have stockpiled such a quantity of rockets, so many atomic and hydrogen warheads that if attacked we shall be able to raze to the ground all our potential enemies.") Furthermore, to this persistent military threat has been added an intangible one, which is much more dangerous for being

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

intangible. This is the great, unquestioned success the Soviet Union has had in the economic and technological fields and which it intends to use for the purpose of communizing the world by peaceful means.

On the military plane, the American predominance of nuclear weapons has been replaced by nuclear parity, and this unstable "balance of terror" radically changes the nature of the protection which the United States can provide its European allies. More particularly, American protection can no longer be regarded as completely automatic, or even plausible, if such protection would entail the risk of the destruction of the protector and of all of Western civilization.

Furthermore, while a decade ago the alliance with the United States was for the nations of Western Europe not only an asset but an indispensable condition for national survival, it must now appear to these nations as a mixed blessing, if not a liability. For if there is a chance for a nation of Western Europe to escape nuclear destruction in a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, it will certainly not be enhanced by being allied with the United States and having American bases on its soil.

The community of military interests between the United States and the nations of Western Europe is bound to become still further weakened by the foreseeable developments in military technology. On the one hand, the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles is likely to decrease drastically, if not eliminate, the American need for overseas bases. On the other hand, if the present trend is not reversed, within a few years time a number of European nations, aside from Great Britain, will possess nuclear weapons which will replace in good measure reliance upon the US nuclear deterrent.

Little needs to be said about the third factor which contributed greatly to the creation of the North Atlantic Alliance 10 years ago: the economic weakness of the nations of Western Europe. That weakness has been replaced by very considerable strength. Common institutions are on the way toward mobilizing the enormous economic potential of Western Europe. In consequence, the economic dependence of Western Europe on the United States is in the process of disappearing.

These changes in the underlying factors bring into question the very conception of NATO as a military alliance seeking to defend Western Europe on the ground. NATO has never been able to do that and will never be able to do it in the future, constituted as it is today. This inability is a result of its having been conceived as nothing more than a military alliance. Today, however, the total challenge which the Soviet Union has flung in the face of the Western World, the challenge which is adequately expressed in Khrushchev's promise to bury us, all of us in the Western World, requires more than a mere military alliance. It requires the marshalling of all the moral, social and intellectual resources of the Western World; for only thus can the Western World cope with a threat which is not a threat of one nation against another but of one type of civilization against another type of civilization. Being all members of the one civilization which is supposed to be buried by the other, since, in other words, we are promised a common future in a common grave, we ought to be able to forestall that possibility by providing, as it were, for a common life and a common revival of our common civilization. Here seems to lie the great future task for NATO. And by performing this task, it will also provide the political, economic, and moral foundation for the common military effort for which it was originally founded and which it has been unable to undertake.

Hand-to-Mouth Planning

Rep. Richard Bolling's special subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee has completed its two-week inquiry into the comparative position – and potential – of the US and Soviet economies. The hearings have excelled in the calibre of the witnesses called, the objectivity of their reports and testimony, and in the very fact that so important and ambitious an assignment was undertaken at all. They did not get the press attention they deserved, but they have proved beyond any reasonable doubt that rates of Soviet economic growth do pose a challenge to the United States and that this country cannot meet that challenge through any blind increase in gross national product without regard to how the product is allocated. Over and over again the witnesses returned to this conclusion.

"We must look beyond relative levels of output and rates of growth to the question of how effectively the output is enlisted to serve the national interest. National power clearly does not rest on total output but on the efficiency and consistency with which a nation is able to use its output to advance its policy objectives."

– Hans Heymann, Jr., Economist for the Rand Corporation.

"There is a big difference between engaging in a 'gross national product' race and promoting a rate of steady economic growth which would permit meeting the needs of national security and, at the same time, enable desirable increases in the standard of living and pursuit of other economic and social objectives. Such a rate of growth . . . would be less than the current or prospective rate of Soviet growth, but higher than the rate of growth of the US economy in recent years." *– Gerhard Colm, Chairman of the National Planning Association.*

"The real lesson of your panelists' papers is that there is nothing in the structure or growth rates of the two economies that will automatically determine the out-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

come of this test. The answer lies in whether our political leadership mobilizes the evidently ample resources that lie to hand– resources of will, of skill, of talent, of commitment to the American heritage, as well as goods and services – to do the job." – *W. W. Rostow, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.*

Yet ours is an age in which things must be planned ahead, space exploration being only the most dramatic example of this. Ideas on today's drawing boards, not just in technology but also in politics and sociology, may not become reality for a decade hence – and will never become reality until years after they are on drawing boards. And this is as true of government activity as it is of the projects of the AEC. It has long been apparent, for example, that the federal budget exercises what amounts to a decisive influence on the quality and quantity of the national economy. Yet among all the enormous organizations which shape the economy these days, the federal government, the largest of all, is probably the only one which lives on a hand-to-mouth basis, with practically no long-range planning. If General Electric and General Motors and Dupont are spending large amounts of time, thought and money on planning their output 5 and 10 years from now, why, then, should not the federal government be doing the same? Leon Keyserling has offered one approach in his concept of the "prosperity budget," but why there are so few who are calling on the federal government and the nation as a whole to plan ahead is an interesting question.

Proving Our Intentions

Fortunately for us all, President Eisenhower has set out on his mission to dispel the "great deal of doubt remaining in the minds of many people, and including our friends, as to America's real sincerity in pursuit of peace" when circumstances are most favorable. The President, as all his hosts will see, now radiates determination to go to any reasonable length to exchange the arms race for a policy of arms reduction and control. And the opportunity to prove our good intentions is right at hand.

After a year, the United States, the Soviet and British negotiators for a nuclear test ban are close to agreement at Geneva. And the 10-nation disarmament conference scheduled to meet there in 60-90 days will provide a chance to advance beyond the first step of a test ban into broader areas of arms reduction.

A change of attitude in Washington as well as Moscow is responsible for the improved outlook in Geneva. Moving from months of refusing even to discuss new data concerning detection of underground tests that were barring agreement on inspection of suspected violations, Soviet representative Tsarapkin now originates new topics for agreement at almost every meeting of the negotiators. The President, on his part, has apparently made up his mind to reject the advice of those who oppose ending tests without infallible inspection techniques to supervise the ban. In a letter to Sen. Hubert Humphrey on November 17, Mr. Eisenhower wrote:

> ". . . The best and most carefully elaborated disarmament agreements are likely to carry with them some risks, at least theoretically, of evasion. But one must ponder, in reaching decisions on the very complex and difficult subject of arms control, the enormous risks entailed if reasonable steps are not taken to curb the international competition in armaments and to move effectively in the direction of disarmament."

There are signs also that having learned there are risks in failing to act, the President is beginning to understand the need for preparation within government for the next steps ahead toward disarmament. On four occasions during the last session of Congress, Senator Humphrey, with no help from the Administration, failed to get approval of a $400,000 appropriation for disarmament studies. Next year, however, at the President's wish the State Department intends to reverse itself and support the move. "Although it is belated," Senator Humphrey says, "it is encouraging that President Eisenhower has begun to see that goals, in order to be translated into specific steps, demand preparation, study and even funds."

The President, however, presides over a divided house. The Atomic Energy Commission and the Defense Department still oppose a test ban although most of their opposition is now confined to the banning of fallout*less underground* tests along with tests in the atmosphere and outer space. Underground experiments are necessary, these experts claim, to develop new and better nuclear weapons and to make sure the existing stockpile is in workable condition. And besides, they say, we could never be sure that the Russians were not testing secretly because small underground explosions are so easy to conceal.

Bolstered by the apparent willingness of the Russians to cooperate in seeking improved means of inspection, State Department experts who share the President's desire for a comprehensive ban are mustering answers to these arguments to use if and when such a treaty comes to Congress for ratification. The best available information, they say, is that there are no known or planned weapons systems requiring further nuclear tests. (Some scientists insist that the US has gone as far as theoretical limits permit in improving nuclear weapons.) Furthermore, intelligence estimates indicate that during previous test-for-test series conducted by the US and the USSR, each time the Russians have further closed the gap between us – a gap which Dr. Hans Bethe told the Senate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Disarmament Subcommittee last year was substantially in favor of the US in number, quality, design, variety and sophistication of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. Continued testing, they reason, would imperil the US lead. To resume testing, the State Department argument concludes, would hurt the United States diplomatically far beyond the benefits that might accrue from improved weapons; and a comprehensive test ban treaty would provide a much-needed impetus to reconventionalize our defenses.

Senator Humphrey adds other arguments: ". . . Less than a total ban . . . would allow not only the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union to continue testing, but it would also allow other countries, such as Communist China and France and many others to become nuclear powers. Furthermore, if all our testing were done underground, I think this could result in an increase rather than a reduction of world tension. With all countries burrowing down into the ground to test their weapons each would have less knowledge of what the other was doing, thereby increasing suspicion and distrust."

It has taken two years of serious discussion to come this close to a bomb-test-ban agreement, for one reason because the US was frequently behind with its technical homework. To shorten the time lag in more advanced stages of disarmament – such as cessation of nuclear weapons production, control of missiles and bombers, and creation of a worldwide system for prevention of surprise attack – we should now, as Dr. James Killian recently urged, be developing "an arms limitation technology of the magnitude of creativity and advanced thinking that went into military technology."

Four Dams for One

"Take a good look at it, because it's the last of its kind you will see for a long time if the Republicans get in."

So said President Truman in 1952 upon dedicating the Hungry Horse federal dam in Montana across the Flathead River, a tributary of the Columbia. Recently the Bureau of Reclamation, which built the dam, disclosed that its gross earnings for power have returned $16,730,000, that it has saved some $3.5 million in flood damage downstream – although it gets no credit for such savings – and that it will have returned its entire cost of construction to the Treasury well before the 50-year payout period.

But this statement did not disclose what is by far the greatest value of Hungry Horse, and its greatest return in benefits. It was carefully built as an integral part of Columbia Basin total development, which the Eisenhower Administration promptly abandoned in favor of giving away such remaining great dam sites as Hells Canyon. For in addition to its own value as a power-generator, Hungry Horse has added so much to the total value of the river system that, in effect, federal taxpayers and public and private power interests of the Southwest have got almost the equivalent of four Hungry Horses, for the price of one.

This is because it smooths out the flow of the river, thus increasing the capacity of all downstream dams to generate "prime" power, the most useful kind available most of the time, rather than intermittent, low-value "dump" power, or none at all.

A Resources for the Future study shows that Hungry Horse, whose own capacity is 212,000 kilowatts, is responsible for adding no less than 628,000 KW to the prime-power capacity of the downstream dams. Of this Montana Power Company got the benefit of 90,000; Washington Water Power Company 50,000; West Kootenay Power and Light Company of British Columbia 70,000, and two Public Utility Districts in Washington state, 30,000 together. But the big beneficiary was the federal taxpayer, since Hungry Horse operation has added an effective total of 388,000 prime kilowatts to the big federal dams on the Columbia, including 163,000 at the Grand Coulee alone. Thus on-site and off, Hungry Horse was actually an 840,000 KW installation.

Such figures offer the strongest possible argument for the unified development of our great river basins. And they offer one possible reason for Interior Secretary Fred Seaton's announcement – made almost *sotto voce* at one of his infrequent press conferences – that the Administration at long last will abandon its policy of no new starts on federal power projects, and will actually recommend a few in its budget for the forthcoming fiscal year.

They – and possibly the impending Presidential election – may bring the drought foretold so prophetically by Harry Truman to a grudging close. But what it has already cost in foregone national development that can now never be regained, the case of Hungry Horse offers sad but convincing evidence.

NEXT WEEK

On the eve of President Eisenhower's visit, Jean Daniel, *foreign editor of* l'Express *of Paris and one of France's best-informed diplomatic correspondents, speculates on the implications of perhaps the most crucial part of the President's journey, his meeting with Premier Charles de Gaulle in Paris.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arterial Sclerosis

How quickly in the American *mythos* the big bad wolf becomes Big Daddy when the occasion arises. A cherished myth of US business is that federal aid is bad, will undermine and enervate you, and invariably leads to nationalization or, at the brightest, to federal domination. But last week at Denver the heads of the nation's biggest railroads joined with the heads of the nation's biggest cities to demand federal aid on a huge scale, to solve what is perhaps the most formidable problem of the growth-tortured cities. That is the future of mass transportation, now being done to death by the individual auto.

Railroads have long been operating their commuter services at a loss. These have now been greatly cut down and in some instances abandoned, yet literally millions of people in the areas of mass population still depend upon commutation to get back and forth to the daily job. So the heads of billion-dollar railroads are talking like New Dealers. President A. E. Perlman of the New York Central called the resultant situation "arterial sclerosis" which threatens the very life of our urban communities. And Chairman James M. Symes of the Pennsylvania Railroad, when asked if federal aid might not portend federal control or even nationalization, snorted, "That's a lot of baloney! The airlines have been subsidized from the first, and they aren't nationalized yet."

Mayor Richardson Dilworth of Philadelphia said multiplied billions of dollars being spent on freeways for autoists will never solve the problem and will, indeed, make things more chaotic as people and autos pile up. By 1980, he said, the metropolitan areas will have 80 percent of the nation's people, as against 66 percent now. Since World War II, 90 percent of all population growth has been urban. It would take $35 billion to build even the minimum highway web needed in the East, he said; but for one-tenth that sum, mass transportation facilities – including expanded rail commuter facilities – could handle 10 times as many people as individual autos ever could.

Thus adjured, the National Congress of the American Municipal Association passed with no dissents a resolution calling for a program of federal aid and local cooperation to meet the impending traffic snarl of 1980.

That isn't the only resort to federal aid the assembled mayors and legislators of most of the nation's cities are eager to make, however. They asked, again with almost no dissent, for more federal aid in the fields of control of pollution of both air and water, civil defense, public housing and urban renewal – both of which they asked Congress to investigate – and hospital and health benefits. They rang the welkin with one protest – against the reported federal plan to stretch out building the $25 billion, 41,000-mile interstate highway system, by building the rural linkages first. Any "attempt to cut the cities out of the interstate system is unthinkable and must be resisted by every means at our command!"

It is hard to blame the cities. They find themselves tied down, like Gulliver among the Lilliputs, by state legislatures still dominated by minority ruralities through "rotten borough" legislative apportionments which deny the cities due representation.

Taxes are just about at the practicable political limit, yet two-thirds to three-fourths of those collected in the cities flow away to states or the federal government. Meanwhile the cities are growing at astronomical speed and their growth compels the supply of services – quite apart from the vast rebuilding some of them must do to remain fit for human habitation.

Halleck Rides High

The beginning of the 86th Congress was marked by the tearful defeat of Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts for leadership of the Republicans in the House of Representatives. That veteran of 18 consecutive terms as a member of the House, including service as Speaker and Minority Leader, was stripped of all of his powers and perquisites, except for a Cadillac limousine and chauffeur which a sentimental House voted him, by the onrushing ambitions of Charles A. Halleck of Indiana who, after 13 terms, had tired of his secondary position as party whip. For years Speaker Sam Rayburn and Joe Martin had run the House with a comfortable, old-shoe familiarity. Despite the fact that the Democrats were returned with the largest majority they had possessed since the peak of the New Deal, it soon became obvious that the dominant figure in the House now was not Rayburn but Minority Leader Halleck.

Halleck, a vigorous, skillful and ruthless operator of Indiana-style politics, not noted for delicacy or elevated purpose, immediately revived the Republican-Southern Democratic coalition and made it work as it had not operated since it defeated most of the advances which President Truman had sought under his Fair Deal.

It is estimated by *Congressional Quarterly* that the potential strength of the coalition in the House give it, even after the Democratic victories of last year, a 92 vote majority. In the Senate the possible coalition majority is 13. It is a measure of Halleck's success that the percentage of coalition victories reached 91 in the House under Halleck's leadership, whereas in the Senate, where it was more or less contained by the Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, often by means of not allowing legislation to reach the floor in a coalition-arousing form, its percentage of victory was only 65 percent. Membership in the Congress, despite the admission of two new states and Acts of God, will not have changed enough before January, 1960, to make much difference in the upcoming session in which Halleck will be riding again.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ice-breaking in Antarctica

A multi-nation treaty, with the US and the USSR included among its signers, that exempts a whole continent from all warlike activity is a major event, even if the continent comprises the remote and terrible fastnesses of Antarctica. It stands out like an iceberg, too, in a surrounding sea of sentiment about peaceful purpose in which little that is firm can be detected.

The high contracting parties have not only affixed their signatures to an accord that this little-known area shall not be used for military purposes (nuclear explosions are specifically forbidden there) but they have put teeth into the agreement by working out and applying a system of inspecting what goes on that could hardly be more sweeping.

All participants shall give due notice to each other of all expeditions planned in the area, all stations to be established, all military personnel and equipment used in the course of operations (the US Navy, for instance, handles Antarctic logistics of supply with its ice-breakers, transports, etc.); the information is to be full, even to the extent of including the dates of employment of individuals. Then all contracting parties have the right to designate their own nationals as observers; these observers shall have complete access to all installations, all ships and planes arriving in the area; they shall also have the right to aerial observation everywhere.

Though in many ways the Antarctic is everyman's hell, it is also a close approximation to the scientist's heaven, particularly the heaven that was seen apocalyptically in the light over Los Alamos. Long before the treaty was thought of, there was exchange of personnel and information among the scientific stations maintained by various nations in the area. Joint exploration of the frontiers of knowledge has been furthered by the mutual aid induced by the rigors of a physical frontier. Russian and American scientists have even engaged in the testing experience of "winterizing over" at each other's stations; after six months indoors together with communication with the outside limited to radio, exchange of ideas is likely to be complete.

The variety of inquiries currently pursued is impressive: seismology, aurora, cartography, oceanography, biology, etc. The US research is administered by the National Science Foundation through grants mostly to universities. (The Navy, however, has one man working on Operation Snuffles, a patient nose-wiper who explores why it is that men who have been in the Antarctic for a time do not get colds but rounds of colds appear when new personnel comes from the outside.)

The new treaty made no effort to touch the sharp-pointed problem of territorial claims in the Antarctic; neither the US nor the USSR has any claims there, nor recognizes the validity of the claims of Chile, Argentina and Great Britain. The treaty merely freezes the situation as to sovereignty, with the unscientific proviso that the frozen claims shall not be enlarged.

The treaty concerns Antarctica only. Yet in having successfully established the first agreement for total inspection, it may prove to have been an ice-breaking expedition. Formulas for this century's other unexplored territory, outer space, may in the future be based on this first effort. And if present affirmations of peaceful purpose in the cold war on earth should reach the point of negotiation on a solid program, the fact that accord on inspection has been found possible somewhere may be of aid on other continents where the word frontier has a very different meaning.

South African Progressives

Rarely has South Africa heard so much good sense in so short a time as it has since the founding of the Progressive Party, the nucleus of which is a group of 11 members of parliament who had been unhappy in the opposition United Party for many years and resigned late last summer. The Progressives will be heard with more sympathy by whites than the gallant but tiny band of Liberals had been, for unlike the Liberals, the Progressives do not challenge existing segregation outside the political sphere, being content with a philosophy of "separate but equal" (an advance in South Africa), whereas the Liberals back integration.

Whatever their chances of forming a future government, the Progressives are doing South Africa a service by stating its real choice. The ruling Nationalists assert that the alternatives are *apartheid* and mass miscegenation, but the Progressives differ. "Your choice," Progressive Leader Jan Steytler told a large white audience in Johannesburg last month, "is the eventuality of a non-European electoral majority or bloodshed in South Africa." Whether time still remains to avert that bloodshed may be doubted, but the Progressives made a significant bid for the friendship that may provide the time by demanding the abolition of the hated pass laws that break up families, limit the African's choice of work, and often bring him afoul of brutal police.

If one can still place hope in South Africa's whites, it should be placed in the Progressives. The Liberals have never attracted a following. The United Party may suffer occasional pangs of conscience and even be criticized from within, but it will always be dedicated to naked white power and be too "English" for the dominant Afrikaners who are still fighting the Boer War.

The odds on the Progressives are not encouraging, though their ability is unquestioned. But their talented Parliamentary team and their concern for the future will at the very least clear the air if they remain true to their declared aim of converting the electorate to their policies and not their policies to the electorate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Defend the Cheese Mines!

Birth control! What an issue for a Presidential campaign on which the fate of the free nations of the world may hinge!

Yet there is a clear, if cynical, logic in it. Unless the voters are given something to stimulate their adrenal glands during the campaign, they may begin to use their brains. If they use their brains, they are likely to think about political issues. If they think about political issues, they are pretty sure to demand some kind of intelligent action. And action, intelligent or not, is precisely what gentry now in comfortable positions, therefore satisfied with the *status quo*, most cordially hate and fear.

To serve their wishes birth control may be as effective as the Ku Klux Klan and prohibition were in 1924. In that year the real issue was the criminal activity of the gang of hoodlums that Harding had allowed to infiltrate the government even up to the Cabinet level; but skillful injection into the campaign of night-gowns and bathtub gin raised our emotional temperature to a point at which it was impossible for the electorate to think much about such commonplace matters as bribery, theft, perjury and murder. So we elected Coolidge to snooze comfortably through four years while the economic structure was rotting away.

Today the real issue is far less lurid, therefore more easily obscured by any kind of emotional disturbance. The real issue is the lack of any sense of direction or purpose in our national leadership at a moment when termites are eating away the mudsills of human freedom. It is an issue hard to dramatize under any conditions, hence birth control may easily stir up clouds of emotionalism that will obscure it completely.

The phoniness of the thing is obvious enough. Nobody is spending any tax money on birth control. Nobody is proposing to spend any. The whole clamor is over nothing that exists but over what might happen under hypothetical conditions that theoretically might arise in a supposititious future. Like Pogo's colleague, they are telling us that at all costs we must defend our cheese mines, supposing there were any. The probability that while we are busy defending the cheese mines our freedom may slip away, counts for nothing.

As to who started this uproar the public is confused. Some say it was a group of Catholic bishops. Others lay it to an Episcopal bishop in California. It seems clear, however, that it started with bishops of some kind, and when bishops, Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Coptic, or, for that matter, their rabbinical equivalents, begin to meddle with political affairs, the nation is heading for trouble. It has always been so. From the days of Maria Monk to the days of Mabel Walker Willebrandt, whenever the clerics have sounded the tocsin that sets their female adherents screaming, at that moment common honesty, common decency, and common sense have been swept out of the campaign and pandemonium has broken loose.

It is discouraging, but it may have the negative advantage of clearing the air. It is possible that it may bring down to earth those idealists who have been floating on rosy clouds of hope that the religious issue could be kept out of the approaching campaign. This clamor proves that the religious issue is already in, and henceforth the best to be hoped for is that it may be held to a level at which it will not obscure everything else.

The first victim of the explosion is bound to be Senator Kennedy. The second will probably be the Democratic Party, certain to be crippled if it nominates Kennedy and equally certain to be crippled if it doesn't. The third will be this republic, delivered into the hands of Men of Principle according to Cornford's definition of principle – "a rule of inaction, which states a valid general reason for not doing in any particular case what, to unprincipled instinct, would appear to be right."

The one faint hope lies in a course that fair-minded men must be reluctant to urge upon any man of honor. It is that Senator Kennedy may be magnanimous enough to swallow manifest injustice and intimate a willingness to accept second place on the ticket. He should not withdraw altogether. That would be equivalent to acquiescing in a slur upon his faith. But the Vice Presidency is an office high enough to vindicate the right of a Catholic to aspire to any office in the government; and if Destiny should call him from the Capitol to the White House it would present the opportunity to demolish, once for all, the prejudice that has made his faith a political handicap.

But to say that the Senator ought to do this would be an intrusive judgment not to be condoned. It is his problem and his decision must be accepted by all others.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INDO-CHINA

Have We Learned the Lessons of the War?

by Denis Warner

No one who watched the Communist Vietminh forces march into Hanoi in October, 1954, is ever likely to forget it. The victors came in canvas sneakers, trudging through the mud with their ammunition slung on bamboo poles, their signals wire in tricycles, their dispatch riders on push-bikes. The vanquished went in tanks and armored cars and half-tracks and trucks, trailing their howitzers and other weapons of conventional war. And all the while the rains the French had prayed for to save Dien Bien Phu splashed down cheerlessly on their retreat, a melancholy ending to an inglorious war.

There was no honor in defeat, only humiliation. In total manpower the French Union and local Vietnamese forces, on the one hand, and the Vietminh, on the other, had been almost equal. Technologically, the balance was heavily against the Vietminh: in all the eight years of the war they did not have a single plane. The flights of bombers and fighters that passed over the jungles and rice fields each day were always French. So were the streams of transports, the Dakotas and Flying Box Cars, rushing supplies to every battlefront. The French had hundreds of artillery pieces; the Vietminh comparatively few. It was always difficult to arrive at anything like an accurate figure on what supplies came to the Vietminh from China, but perhaps at peak periods as much as 5,000 tons a month crossed the Tongking-Kwantung border. The US in 18 months delivered two million tons to the French. Yet with all this logistical support the French never looked like winning the war.

The campaign fought by the Vietminh was guerrilla warfare with new elements added. It was strategical inferiority but tactical superiority, the technique of how to beat a superior force with an inferior force; but above all it was the theory that Mao Tse-tung had tested and proved in a thousand battles in China of fighting from a political base. "There are no mysteries whatsoever in the strategy of defeating superior forces," Mao once declared. "This is how it is done. In this way, and only in this way, can armed revolutionary forces succeed in destroying an enemy 20 times their number." The army, he directed, fought not only to win battles but to "agitate the masses, to organize them, to arm them and to help them establish revolutionary military power." He never tired of proclaiming that "war cannot for a single moment be separated from politics," or that "national revolution can succeed only with universal and thoroughgoing political mobilization." This was the message he passed on to Ho Chi Minh and Vo Nguyen Giap; and they learned their lesson well.

The Geneva Agreement of July 21, 1954, brought the actual fighting to an end. Thailand, which had already been receiving American military aid, suddenly acquired new importance as the SEATO capital; and to fill the military vacuum left by the departing French, the US undertook to maintain and to train the armies of the three Indo-China states.

Today in Laos, Cambodia, South Vietnam and Thailand the combined military forces total approximately 350,000 men, a figure that also happens to coincide with the estimated military strength of the Vietminh, or Viet Cong, as it is now known. Given the added protection of the US 7th Fleet and its nuclear deterrent and the improbability of a major overt attack against these Southeast Asian states by the Chinese or Viet Cong armies, the balance of power in the area seems at first sight to have been well maintained. As the late summer crisis in Laos revealed so unpleasantly, this is not necessarily the case. There is every reason to doubt whether these new Southeast Asian armies have the means, the knowledge and the training to cope with the only type of Communist warfare they are likely to meet.

Where once there was an adventuristic Communist tendency to take risks, and revolutions were launched haphazardly from inadequately prepared political bases, the emphasis is now on careful planning. The fundamental policy has been to remain under cover and to expand the "patriotic national united front in order to mobilize the strength of the entire people," as one recent Malayan Communist Party directive put it. What happened in Laos showed the results of such a policy; it also demonstrated the total incapacity of the Royal Lao Army to meet the Communists' politico-military offensive. Its staff proved incompetent and untrained. Its communications were almost non-existent. Though half of its 25 theoretical infantry battalions are territorials and serve in their own provincial regions, this built-in machinery to cope with Communist subversion and the recruiting of Pathet Lao regional forces fell down in practice because of the lack of rural administration and the easily exploited grievances of the villagers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If the rebel Pathet Lao activities were confined only to areas of Laos where occupation for a period of several years gave the Communists the opportunity to indoctrinate and recruit, it would be reasonable to view the situation with less concern. Since September it has become obvious, however, that the Southern provinces are also seriously infected. The unpalatable fact is that the Pathet Lao's organization of peasant soldiers is now such that it can turn on the pressure at any point. It controls the countryside just as effectively as the Vietminh once controlled it during the Indo-China war; and so far has the deterioration in security gone that even the drastic improvement in the military capabilities of the Royal Lao Army now envisaged under the current aid program is not likely to prove sufficient. The problem is not merely the creation of a better army: the first and most difficult hurdle is to win over the inhabitants of the country's 10,000 villages and to create a favorable environment in which the army can operate.

In Thailand the government says it is satisfied that Communist penetration of the Laos type has not occurred. In a society that suffers neither from rural poverty nor food shortages, the Communists have found it the least profitable of all Southeast Asian recruiting grounds. There are, nevertheless, four Communist parties – the Thai, the Chinese, the Malayan and the Vietnamese – operating within the country.

The Malayan Communist Party has had its headquarters in Southern Thailand for at least five years and the Thai army and police have failed even to get it on the run. In the more vulnerable northeastern provinces, where the inhabitants feel much closer to the Laos than they do to the Thais of Bangkok, the 50,000 Vietnamese refugees living along the right bank of the Mekong River and various dissidents, who have associated themselves with the Pathet Lao, have clearly succeeded in establishing ideological roots. A movement of the Pathet Lao type in this area remains a possibility.

The Thai army, with American equipment and training, is much larger and more efficiently trained than the Lao army; but a substantial portion is always required for duty around Bangkok – not to protect the capital from military attack but to preserve the regime from a *coup d'état*. The successive elimination of the navy and the police in the affairs of government has led to the concentration of power in the hands of the army. While Field Marshal Sarit's health permits him to remain in office, it will probably continue to present a homogenous façade; many of his subordinates are not looking for a military promotion, however, but for short cuts to political power and material advancement. They, too, want their cut of the melon. While they are squabbling over it, Thailand's stability could quickly be destroyed.

Denis Warner, *an Australian specialist on Far East Affairs, recently toured Southeast Asia.*

Of Cambodia's 31,000-man army the best that can be said is that the Communists have been kept out of it. Like the Lao army, it is maintained by the US and trained by France. The Cambodians are basically better soldiers than the Laos; but there is nothing to indicate that the French have done better in their training program here than they did in Laos. The Cambodian Premier believes that his policy of neutrality and his efforts to be on friendly terms with Ho Chi Minh's regime in North Vietnam have prevented the subversion of the rural population. But he is also frank enough to admit that a Laotian type situation could develop at any time if Hanoi or Peking gave the word.

The biggest and best of all avowedly anti-Communist Southeast Asian armies is in South Vietnam. Here the American military aid advisory group has knocked a hodge-podge of forces left over from the Indo-China war into an effective looking force of 150,000 men. It performed creditably in a recent operation against Communist insurgents in the Camau Peninsula. Whether even this is a sufficient army, or the right army, is open to doubt, however. It suffers from the handicaps of a Western-type army (dependence on roads for movement and air drops for field supply) and it lacks really modern equipment. Thanks to the Geneva Agreement, its air force relies on obsolete and obsolescent aircraft which have developed the nasty habit, the Vietnamese say, of "falling down." Since the debilitating influence of colonialism has been withdrawn, this 1960 Vietnamese army would undoubtedly prove more effective than the 1954 French army in fighting the Viet Cong, the only possible enemy. But would it prove effective enough? The Viet Cong is neither road bound nor dependent on air support: it has retained its essential guerrilla characteristic. To date, it has contented itself with scattered guerrilla actions in South Vietnam. But Vietnamese officials I talked with recently are sure that the whole Communist regional network has been maintained. If Hanoi were to arm it and activate it and to reinforce the political and military cadres at work now in the South Vietnamese countryside, Vietnamese forces could easily find themselves over-extended.

In the five and a half years that have elapsed since the signing of the Geneva Agreement, the Communists have succeeded in creating over a wide area in Southeast Asia the political base and the military machinery necessary for the application of Mao Tse-tung's theories of revolutionary war. The Western response has been to strive for the internal security of the region by the creation of conventional armies. Since even in SEATO there is no study of Communist theories and tactics, their application inevitably leads to shock and sometimes even to the total lack of comprehension that characterized the initial Laotian and Western reaction to the events last summer in Laos. The West, it seems, has yet to learn the lessons of the Indo-China war.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FACTS ABOUT NIXON – XI

His career as a Senator was cut short by his elevation to the Vice Presidency, but in the 19 months he served in the Upper Chamber, Nixon struck out aggressively on behalf of General Douglas MacArthur's Korean strategy of settling for nothing less than unconditional surrender. He also led in an unsuccessful drive to block public housing, and by demanding the resignations of the chairmen of both political parties, he identified himself as the foe of corruption in government.

The MacArthur Affair

by William Costello

Most accounts of Nixon's career in the Senate adopt an apologetic tone, as if it were hardly fair to count this interval against him. It is customary to brush lightly over the fact that he served only 19 months, that freshman Senators are more often seen than heard, that as a congenital lone wolf he failed to achieve any real personal standing in the "most exclusive club in the world." But in the opinion of so informed an observer as William S. White, Nixon's record in the Senate "was even more lacking in distinction" than in the House.

The dramatic highlight of the 1951 session of Congress was the MacArthur incident – Truman's peremptory order April 11 removing the General as Supreme Commander in the Far East and the Senate hearings that followed in May. For Nixon, the MacArthur affair was a windfall that smacked of pure providence. He had campaigned against the Truman-Acheson Far Eastern policies, and on his arrival in Washington in January his first word had been a rejection of appeals for unity.

"The fact that the policies of our State Department over the past five years have resulted in failure, at least in the Far East, makes it imperative," Nixon said, "that we develop a new policy which will have a better chance to succeed. . . . Unity on a policy which was wrong could bring even greater disaster. What we must have is unity on a policy which represents the best thinking of all our people."

To spell out such a policy, he called for military strength, a strong economy including price controls, rationing and wage controls, and finally a policy of foreign alliances. In succeeding weeks he lost no opportunity to label the Administration's foreign policy a failure and to criticize the conduct of the war in Korea. At the end of January, at the Women's National Republican Club in New York, he took an even bolder line, calling upon the United Nations to "get into Korea" or face the prospect that the United States would get out. He said our men were being asked to "fight a battle with their hands in effect tied behind their backs."

"In other words," he declared, "the time has come when either the UN should recognize the obvious fact of Chinese Communist aggression and take effective action to meet it, or the US should withdraw its troops from Korea. Certainly we cannot ask our men to give their lives unless we back them to the hilt. . . ."

From the beginning, Nixon was one of those who failed to grasp the concept of a limited war as a combined politico-military struggle. He took the familiar view that a war to be successful must end in the destruction of the enemy, or of his will to fight, and in the physical occupation of his territory.

When that enemy was nominally a tiny patch of soil like North Korea, Nixon and kindred formalists, whose adjustments to the strategic implications of Communism had to be made slowly, considered anything short of victory a national humiliation. They had not perceived, or were not yet prepared to admit, that North Korea was not at all what it seemed, was not an independent sovereignty but rather the spearpoint of the Communist empire, and it was therefore unconquerable so long as the will to fight existed in the rest of the Communist empire.

Hence, whether the United States was "backing to the hilt" its fighting men in Korea depended on what was expected of the war. Victory in the narrow military sense could be achieved only by an all-out struggle with the Soviet Union – in other words, the dread holocaust of a third world war. Victory in the larger political sense might and, as events proved, did consist of preventing the extinction of the Republic of Korea.

The logic of this analysis had failed Nixon and a good share of the American public in the early months of 1951. MacArthur's dismissal thus came as an unparalleled outrage to millions who had been led to accept his estimate of the war and its strategy. Nixon as an instinctive traditionalist found himself in their company. But, however faulty the Senator's premises may have been in the light of history, he nevertheless judged aright

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the immediate political context. Within hours after the announcement, he had taken up the cudgels in the General's defense.

"The happiest group in the country," he said in a statement, "will be the Communists and their stooges. . . . The President has given them what they have always wanted – MacArthur's scalp."

His next ploy, harking back to his success with it in the recent campaign against Helen Douglas, was to link the British with Communism. "The President has lined up with Dean Acheson and the British bloc of appeasers in the United Nations," he said angrily. ". . . The only possible explanation of the President's action is that he felt it was necessary to get rid of MacArthur so that Acheson would be free to make a deal with the Chinese Communists along the lines proposed by the British."

MacArthur, he said, "was fired simply because he had the good sense and patriotism to ask that the hands of our fighting men in Korea be untied." He pleaded for the avoidance of "tragic appeasement" and promised that the "policies of MacArthur will bring victory and peace in the Pacific. . . ."

On the same day he drafted and introduced Senate Resolution 126 in which he would have had his colleagues declare it to be the sense of the Senate "that the President of the United States has not acted in the best interests of the American people in relieving of his commands and depriving the United States of the services of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur and that the President should reconsider his action and should restore General MacArthur to the commands from which he was removed."

To climax that busy April 11 Nixon took the floor in the Senate to engage in a long colloquy setting forth his defense of MacArthur and his indictment of the Administration's Asia policy. Following his time-tested debating technique, he deplored "emotional and personal considerations" and suggested "it would be wise for members of the Senate to consider objectively and factually what our differences are."

Prescription for Victory

What followed was his usual skillful polemic; MacArthur was paraded across the stage from time to time as a martyred symbol, but the spotlight focused hard and continuously on those in power, on "those who have failed so miserably."

"Let me say that I am not among those who believe that General MacArthur is infallible," he assured the Senate. "I am not among those who think that he has not made decisions which are subject to criticism. But I do say that in this particular instance he offers an alternative policy which the American people can and will support. He offers a change from the policies which have led us almost to the brink of disaster in Asia. . . ."

"What has been the great error?" he inquired. "The policy has failed; and it has failed because of a basic error in the State Department, the error of taking the advice of men, who whether knowingly or unknowingly came to the false conclusion that Chinese Communists were somehow different from other Communists. . . .

"When we speak of the responsibility for the war in Korea, let us remember that the Korean War would never have happened had not China gone Communist. . . . Now since we are confronted with the Korean War, the question is shall we persist in that mistake? . . . I believe that rather than follow the advice of those who would appease the Communists . . . we should do what we intended to do when we went into Korea, bring the war to a successful military conclusion. . . ."

To clinch his case, he wound up with a presentation of MacArthur's program: Stop all free world trade with Red China, bomb enemy bases on Chinese soil, impose a naval blockade, get assistance from every interested nation [a pitch for Chiang's forces on Formosa], and get assistance from other United Nations.

The *Congressional Record* notes "manifestations of applause in the galleries" as he sat down, but his presumptuous resolution and his prescription for victory were ignored except for doctrinaire right-wingers in and out of Congress who welcomed MacArthur as a patsy, a convenient stalking-horse from whom the professionals could fashion an issue for 1952. Later that month Nixon

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ventured one more intrusion into the MacArthur affair. On April 26, a few days before Sen. Richard Russell opened the full-dress hearings that led down a dignified blind alley, Nixon introduced a bill which, he explained to the Senate, would make it a "violation of law for any officer of the federal government to dismiss or otherwise discipline a government employee for testifying before a committee of Congress."

With the MacArthur hearings about to open, he said, it was "essential to the security of the nation" that every witness "have complete freedom from reprisal. Unless protection is given to witnesses who are members of the armed services or employees of the government, the scheduled hearings will amount to no more than a parade of yes-men for Administration policies."

The Emerging Strategy

In the MacArthur hearings that followed between May 3 and June 25, Nixon's bill served no practical purpose, but it fitted neatly into the evolving Republican political pattern. It was part of the over-all strategy of guilt-by-association and indictment-by-innuendo to suggest the existence of dire skeletons in the Truman closet, the existence of conspiratorial forces and secret plans undermining the nation's defenses.

It was, therefore, good tactics to hint in advance of the hearings that powerful pressures would be used to cover up, and it was part of the masquerade to let voters know that the loyal opposition was on its toes, fighting the fight.

Nixon was on his feet in the Senate again April 27, pleading the cause of the Chinese Nationalists on Formosa, and ridiculing the Administration's policy of fighting a land war "instead of using to the fullest extent our naval power and our air power. . . . We are using our airplanes only for the purpose of tactical bombing," he said accusingly, disregarding the fact that we had no jet bombers capable of raiding China, and no long-range jet fighters capable of escorting our obsolete B-29's. "We are not using our Navy for the purpose of a blockade. . . . We are unable to win a military victory in Korea. We are unable to do so because we are restricted in the use of both strategic bombing and naval power."

Repeatedly during this debate, Taft, as part of his relentless strategy of opposition, rose to his feet to echo Nixon and to spur him on. "The Senator states the case very clearly," he said in his flat, passionless monotone. "I agree with the Senator. It was a mistake originally to go into Korea. . . . That's correct. That is my view."

It was a question whether the Junior Senator from California, the youngest member on the Republican side, was his own spokesman or Taft's puppet. Certainly at no time during the Korean War did any responsible military staff on the United Nations side endorse the Nixon-Taft-MacArthur thesis. Those charged with the grave responsibility of making decisions disagreed categorically with Nixon's assertion on May 1: "I believe the only way we can end this war is not by a 90-day-long 'peace talk' but by military victories and economic blockades to shut out all foreign trade and smuggling such as now continues to aid Red China. There can be no 'political' settlement. . . ."

Nixon's judgment was wrong, of course, as the Eisenhower Administration was eventually to demonstrate, not only in Korea but in Indo-China as well, but this did not prevent him from using the discredited MacArthur thesis as a club with which to beat the Democrats in his '51-'52 appearances at GOP rallies.

As early as May 12, he was assuring an audience of lawyers in Akron, without a shred of evidence, that MacArthur had won a personal victory in the great debate over Far Eastern policy. He listed what he called six "basic changes" in policy for which he contended MacArthur was responsible, culminating with the assertion that the Administration had been "forced to agree" that the only way to end the Korean War was with victory on the battlefield.

Nixon's role in the MacArthur incident stands out with special clarity in any evaluation of his career. In it he took a categorical stand from the first moment. He carried the fight aggressively, both on and off the Senate floor and over a period of months. For political reasons, he committed himself impulsively to a military doctrine that lay outside the bounds of his training and experience. He staked his judgment, not on facts, but on a series of hypotheses, and he ignored facts that could have saved him. History will make the final assessment, but so deeply has his thesis been eroded in the interval that his basic capacity to judge and govern must seem to have been grievously impaired.

Influence Peddling

The MacArthur controversy had scarcely subsided when it was succeeded by a new sensation. On the initiative of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, it was revealed that the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, William M. Boyle, Jr., had intervened two and a half years earlier on behalf of a client to obtain a half-million-dollar loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. At the end of September, 1951, the case gravitated to Nixon's permanent investigations subcommittee, along with a parallel revelation that Chairman Guy G. Gabrielson of the Republican National Committee had also been a party to dealings with the RFC.

At Senatorial hearings from September 31 to October 5, 1951, testimony showed Boyle had made an appointment February 28, 1949, for officials of the Lithofold Company to see Chairman Harley Hise of the RFC. What made that simple transaction suspect was that Lithofold had been three times turned down, that it got

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its loan three days after Boyle's intercession, and that Boyle, while using his position to arrange for the interview, was being paid a monthly retainer by the company. In addition it was learned that Boyle had built up a highly lucrative law practice while serving as acting chairman, and had sold out to his partner, Max Siskind, for $150,000 on becoming permanent chairman. Finally, in the case of Gabrielson, it developed that, before he assumed the unpaid chairmanship of the Republican National Committee, he had once represented the Carthage-Hydrocol Company as president and general counsel in a successful loan application proceeding before the RFC.

Shifting the Issue

From this synopsis, manifestly, there was nothing resembling a genuine conflict of interest, but it was plain that both men had been playing politics according to rules that were ancient in Caesar's time. Nixon took an active part in the questioning, without developing any significant new facts; and when it became clear that no laws had been violated, he shifted quickly to the moral issue. It was easy to infer that there may have been influence peddling, as there always is, and the RFC, with its political administration and its millions in loans, was as likely a place as any to look for it.

"This inquiry has too many loose ends to call it closed," Nixon announced as the hearings recessed October 5, "and I think we'll have to resume hearings."

But no one wanted to thrash a dead ox, except perhaps Nixon. Three days later, in what amounted to a farewell salute to the inquiry, he filed a political testament against corruption. In the appendix of the *Congressional Record* (weeks before a committee report could be filed) he inserted a careful summation and appraisal of the Boyle-Gabrielson circus.

"On the basis of their own testimony," he said, "both Mr. Boyle and Mr. Gabrielson should resign their positions as chairmen of the Democratic and Republican National Committees. The basic issue is whether a high official of the national committee of either major political party should be in a position where he can profit financially from the influence which he may be able to exert with government agencies. . . .

"Mr. Boyle says that in making the appointment he was only doing what he would do for any person. . . . He sees no difference in the fact that the appointment in this instance was made for a client. The answer is that when the national chairman of the party in power intervenes in behalf of a client, such action is influence in itself, regardless of whether he goes further and advocates the merits of the case.

"The Gabrielson case differs in many respects from the Boyle case but the same conclusion must eventually be reached. . . . There is no evidence of improper influence on behalf of his client during the time he has been chairman. On the other hand, Mr. Gabrielson's statement that he has no influence cannot be accepted. . . . He has the power of criticism and the potential power of recommending appointments and promotions. The opportunity for influence exists, and where the opportunity for influence exists, charges of impropriety are bound to follow. . . .

"I see no evidence of illegality or moral turpitude in the actions of either Mr. Boyle or Mr. Gabrielson . . . [but] . . . the paramount need today is to restore public confidence. . . . The top officials of both major parties should set an example of propriety and ethics which goes beyond the strict legal minimum required by law."

From that time on, the Californian continued to capitalize on the issue. In November, he accused Truman of defending "flagrant examples of misconduct" and proposed that Congress set up a special committee "or a group of special prosecutors similar to that set up in the Teapot Dome case to investigate charges of corruption in governmental bureaus." A month later when Truman repeated his determination to deal severely with dishonest government workers, Nixon demanded the dismissal of Attorney General McGrath and Treasury Secretary Snyder, and asserted the President's own actions "in defending and condoning unethical practices by members of his own official family have done more than anything else to encourage the decline of morality among government employees."

Champion of Integrity

Nixon had subjected himself to some criticism inside the party for his boldness in censuring Gabrielson as well as Boyle; but in the end, in the climate of mink coats, deep freezes, and big and little scandals that pervaded the closing months of the Truman Administration, he emerged as a champion of integrity in public life, a reputation that had no little bearing on his nomination for the Vice Presidency.

A year later he was defending himself desperately on the same battleground, pleading his innocence against charges that, while he had indeed stayed within the "strict legal minimum required by law" in accepting $18,000 in gifts, he had blurred the same ethical lines as the men he had stepped forward to condemn.

Again in 1956, Nixon came under attack when his campaign manager, Murray Chotiner, called on two Presidential assistants at the White House and persuaded them to make telephone calls about CAB cases in which he was interested; on this occasion, Nixon kept silent and the defense took the pragmatic line that Chotiner did no wrong because his clients lost their cases. As for the ethical question – just what makes an influence peddler – that question went begging.

The last significant act of Nixon's Senate career, with-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in a month of the 1952 nominating convention, found him involved with the national real estate lobby in a move to kill public housing. In that year Congress had authorized construction of 35,000 units of public housing, and the Los Angeles Housing Authority, in its effort to relieve shortages and remove the Korean War's inflationary pressure on rents, had contracted to build 10,000 units. The real estate lobby, therefore, picked Los Angeles as its first target in a heavily-financed campaign to destroy the program through local action.

The Fight Against Public Housing

The first move was to subvert the Los Angeles city council which caved in under pressure and voted 8 to 7 to cancel the housing contract and submit the question to a referendum. The council's action led to a court ruling that the contract was binding, and that even a referendum would be powerless to abrogate it. However, since the housing proposition had already been printed on the ballot, it was allowed to remain; and the ensuing straw vote June 3 favored cancellation by a margin of about 8 to 5, with only a third of the electorate voting.

Since this vote was without legal effect, the pressure then shifted to Congress, where Knowland and Nixon agreed to carry the ball. In acquiescing, Nixon may have felt he had no real choice. Sponsor of the anti-housing campaign was an organization calling itself the "Committee Against Socialist Housing" or CASH. One of the leaders of CASH was Joseph Crail, an attorney and president of the Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association. As it developed later, when Nixon's secret fund was made public, Crail was also one of the loyal contributors to the Senator's fund, along with two other leading supporters of CASH.

The sequel was not without its ironic overtones. The initial Knowland-Nixon strategem June 12 was to fight for an amendment to the Defense Production Act that would have ordered a halt on any public housing project rescinded by local vote, provided the "community" refunded any money already advanced by federal agencies. The proposed language contained no definition at all of who in a "community" would be responsible for making such a refund or how the federal authorities could enforce repayment. The Senate killed that scheme on a technicality.

While the California Senators were planning a second try, Rep. Gordon L. McDonough solved their problem June 27 in the House by tacking a variation of the amendment onto a supplemental appropriation bill, during the rush toward adjournment. It might have slipped through the Senate also but for the watchfulness of Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, but at the latter's insistence the language of the rider was cleaned up to provide that, in any such contract cancellation, the local "governing body" must have "tendered the United States full reimbursement."

In that form the legislation achieved nothing, for neither CASH nor the Los Angeles city council nor the Los Angeles Housing Authority was prepared to refund $13 million in federal money already invested in the project! Hence the contract was fulfilled, not cancelled.

Nixon's part in the affair attracted relatively little attention at the time, except for the position he took on the Senate floor June 12 in advocating the proposal. Knowing that the referendum nine days earlier had been legally meaningless and had expressed the view of only a minority, he nevertheless said in the course of debate: "The question before us . . . is whether or not Congress believes the federal government should force down the throats of people of a local community a public housing contract which they have voted to rescind and on which they are willing to reimburse the federal government. . . .

"It seems to me that the issue is clear; and under the circumstances members on both sides of the aisle, regardless of how they may feel about public housing or its merits – because that is not what is involved here – should vote to recognize the clearly expressed intent of the law and the will of the people."

Aside from the verdict of the 1952 Republican convention, the only contemporary assessment of Nixon's contribution in the Senate came from a poll of political scientists conducted by Dr. B. L. Johnson of Denver and Dr. W. E. Butt of Pennsylvania. In the poll, legislative specialists in the American Political Science Association rated Senators on domestic and foreign attitudes, legislative ability, intellectual ability and personal integrity.

The first 10 on the list were Douglas, Kefauver, Morse, Lehman, Fulbright, Smith (Maine), Lodge, Aiken, Saltonstall, and McMahon. McCarthy beat out Jenner for last place.

Nixon was rated 71st among the 96 Senators.

NEXT WEEK: *Nixon as travelling salesman for the United States in South America*

No portion of Mr. Costello's copyrighted articles may be reproduced without written permission of The New Republic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Art-Lover's Bonanza

by Frank Getlein

If any doubts remain about the whopping success of the art-book in America, they are erased merely by a glance at the titles here considered. All are concerned with work by artists well known to the general public, but all take aim at a point well away from the center of public interest in the three painters. Only the Picasso book is about painting at all; the other two are about what their subjects do in their spare time. The Picasso volume may well be looked at as a solution to the problem of trying to publish a book on Picasso that hasn't already been done by Ronald Penrose, but it, like the others, is evidence of the total confidence of the art-book business. None of the three shows the gold-rush attitude that might be expected in a seller market. Each is enjoyable and adds to our understanding of the artist.

Dali: A Study of His Art-in-Jewels
Foreword by A. Hyatt Mayor
(New York Graphic Society; $10)

Picasso's Variations on Velasquez' Painting "The Maids of Honor" and Other Recent Works
(Abrams; $30)

A Pottery Sketchbook
by Aaron Bohrod
(University of Wisconsin; $7.50)

This last is clearest, I think, in the book on Dali's jewels. "On" is wrong; the book is a sumptuously presented group of 28 color plates of 28 pieces of jewelry designed by the Spanish Surrealist and executed by Alemany & Co. "in closest collaboration" with Dali. The artist has a few pages of self-appreciation and Mr. Mayor, print curator at the Metropolitan, a foreword on the artist and on art jewelry of the past. It is on the jewels themselves that the book must stand or fall. It stands. Each of the pieces is an intellectual conceit; so, indeed, are most of Dali's paintings. The peculiar quality of the conceit somehow works better in these elaborate, sometimes mechanical devices than it generally does in the paintings.

Dali's most famous painting is commemorated in a jewel of gold, diamonds and enamel, the "Persistence of Memory." As pure conceit, the jewel version of the melting watch adds just a touch of elegant superciliousness missing from the painting. Whatever the message of the painting may be taken to be, it is repeated in the jewel but repeated with a shrug. The painting, on the other hand, is an instance of the Dalinian conceit surpassing itself and becoming, thanks in great part to the desolate landscape, an artistic vision of reality.

Generally the gems present a statement with no mystery whatever. "Ruby Lips" are so in truth and enclose pearls for teeth. "Tristan and Isolde" brings the profiles of the lovers almost together, in gold, the lines making room for a diamond-set goblet filled with garnet wine. "Swan Lake" is a golden mermaid, swan-winged, afloat on a chrysoberyl surface; her chest cavity is open and contains a diamond swan, wings spread. There are several pieces of gold hands that are half trees or leaves, indicating the continuing interest of the artist in the double image. Dali also plays on the contrast between the meticulously executed jewel and the rough unfinished stone, nugget gold or malachite more or less *au naturel*. The whole performance is an admirable exercise of ingenuity on several levels. The jewels, by the way, all belong to the Owen Cheatham Foundation and may be borrowed by institutions for exhibition.

In a way the Picasso book is also the result of a conceit. From the middle of August through the end of December, in 1957, Picasso occupied himself chiefly in executing variations upon the great Velazquez picture of the Infanta of Spain and her attendants, "The Maids of Honor." This adventure in Spanish art was made for book form, since exhibitions of the complete series are bound to be few and far between. The book, with a reproduction of the original, plus some details, reproduces all the paintings Picasso did on the theme, including some breaks on the pigeons of his backyard and the landscape out the window. All in all there are 58 "variations" and to look at them, slowly, flipping back and forth and checking now and again with the Velazquez, is to be impressed anew with the enormous talent of Picasso and to get something of a lesson in how the younger Spanish painter goes about his work.

The original centers on the Infanta, attended, right and left, by two maids, a female dwarf and a small boy who is kicking a large dog. This group runs across the foremost plans of the picture and shows, on the left, the painter himself, brush in hand before a vast canvas, doubtless this one. Behind the lines of maids are two dim religious personages. A door in the far wall is open and an unidentified man is leaving. Next to the door is a mirror and in it are reflected the king and queen, just arrived in the same position as the spectator.

Like Velazquez, Picasso gives top billing to the Infanta, less in the several full-scale variations in the series than in the number of smaller details, the majority of these being devoted to the princess. At the outset he takes blue for the shadow side of her face, yellow for the sun side and their mixture, green, for the hair, a formula that remains most of the way through. The plain line of color shows the patented profile set against full face, then softens into fuller modeling, then becomes the complete, but never really arbitrary, color range. The insistent logic of Picasso's work was never more apparent than in these variations. The full-scene pictures are equally instructive. The painter himself looms up as an obelisk or dwindles to nothing. The man in the doorway is revealed as echoing the posture of the boy in the foreground – the dog kicker – who in turn is taken out of the Velazquez completely and placed at a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

piano with no essential change of gesture. Silhouetted, the man in the doorway becomes himself a painter at work. And so it goes through this invigorating volume, the mind ever stimulated as much by what Picasso sees in Velazquez as by the new paintings themselves.

Aaron Bohrod, as his current show at the Milch Galleries, New York, proves once more, is one of the finest still life painters now working, specializing in sharp focus arrangements of objects suggestive of mortality and endurance. He also decorates ceramics made by Carlton Ball and their mutual productions have delighted hand and eye for almost a decade. The *Sketchbook* reveals a completely different side of Bohrod from that familiar in his paintings. The figures of horses, fish, women, birds and various horned beasts are freely distorted in a logic born of their own forms and the forms of ceramic vessels. Hundreds of drawings, with comparative photographs of the finished pots, demonstrate the reverse of the old Cubist boast. If Bohrod paints realistically, it isn't because he can't distort when he wants to. He wants to and he does, with joyful humor, all through the *Sketchbook*.

The Kremlin and the Atom

by Howard Simons

The loudest noises currently detectable from underground nuclear tests are the controversial surface explosions made by humans arguing about whether such tests can be monitored. The fate of the talks in Geneva on a cessation of testing hinge largely on this point. The United States is bargaining for the maximum possible on-site inspections of suspicious seismographic disturbances; the Soviet Union counters with a proposal for a pre-determined annual quota of inspections. An agreed-upon inspection price tag could break the deadlock.

Atomic Energy
in the Soviet Union
by Arnold Kramish
(Stanford University; $4.75)

One little publicized factor affecting this price tag is discussed by Arnold Kramish of the RAND Corporation, who has written a fascinating account of the Soviet atomic energy effort. The Russians, Mr. Kramish tells us, have detonated, routinely and repeatedly, conventional explosives of the force of small nuclear bombs for construction work both in Russia and China. One such detonation involved 9,600 tons of explosives, a larger blast than four of the five underground nuclear tests in the American Ranier and Hardtack series – tests upon which the US rests much of its case for the wide on-site inspection.

Presumably, the author contends, a seismograph would not be able to distinguish between these detonations and clandestine nuclear tests of a comparable yield. "This would be an especially serious point," he argues, "if a quota agreement on inspection were established. For if construction-type explosions are to become more frequent (which seems to be the case), they could easily exhaust the set quotas."

The Russians have not been conspicuously accommodating to American students of recent Russian history. Information about sensitive subjects, such as atomic energy, is almost non-existent. There is no Russian Smyth Report. Consequently, Mr. Kramish is obliged on every tenth page or so to speculate, draw conclusions and try to think as a Russian politician or scientist might think.

Until the eve of the Nazi invasion of Russia, Soviet and Western nuclear physicists were on a par in their achievements. The Nazi onslaught brought a halt to Russian research, and conversely, spurred efforts in Anglo-American laboratories. The Russian leaders, either knowingly or unwittingly, did not choose to duplicate the Manhattan Project, and Mr. Kramish devotes a chunk of two chapters trying to explain why not. He believes that early in the 1940's the Russian leaders failed to grasp the full potential of the atom as a weapon until it was too late, at which time they decided to wait and see. He suggests that the use of information gathered by Soviet spies was minimal, arguing that atomic energy data was not a priority interest for Russian cloak-and-dagger men and suggesting, too, that the collation of such information in Moscow was bungled. He mentions Klaus Fuchs and the Canadian spy ring, but omits all reference to the Rosenbergs.

The author also speculates that Russia could not afford to expend the manpower and technical resources necessary for the colossal effort required to develop an atomic bomb in World War II, and further argues that there was serious doubt within the Russian scientific community that such a weapon could be developed.

It was Malenkov, in Kramish's opinion, who acted as liason between the top bureaucrats and scientists and Stalin, and he reasons that Malenkov would have been smart had he refrained from mentioning the subject of atomic energy at all to Stalin, because information from abroad did not indicate it was a serious enough problem; Stalin should not have been distracted from his other concerns; and Stalin might have been enraged to learn that Russian science lagged behind Capitalist science.

After deducing this, Mr. Kramish goes on to suggest further that "this would explain his [Stalin's] apparent ignorance or indifference when Truman announced to him at Potsdam in July, 1945, that a new weapon had just been tested and would be used against Japan."

The author notes that the Russians could afford to wait. They had nothing to fear from their Allies while the war was on, and German and Japanese atomic energy programs were making little headway. Soviet intelligence estimated that the Allies could not stockpile enough atomic weapons in the immediate postwar period to threaten the Soviet Union. There were even advantages; they could learn from our mistakes.

The Russian atomic energy program was put on a slow burner in late 1943; they were able to detonate their first nuclear device on August 29, 1949. Mr. Kramish, however, teases the reader with the possibility that this wasn't the first Soviet test. He wonders if we had

NEXT WEEK

William Inge's new play
"A Loss of Roses"

reviewed by Robert Brustein

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

our detection system in operation much before the August 29 detonation, and if not, if it isn't possible that we missed an earlier test.

From here Mr. Kramish leads us through the Russian development of an H-bomb and on into Soviet plans for peaceful uses of atomic energy. One of his most interesting chapters describes the creation of science cities in the Soviet Union, a new form of the collective, "an entirely new pattern that the West cannot ignore."

The author also tries to correct some misimpressions. For example, Peter L. Kapitsa, who defected back to Russia from England and has been called the "atom-Czar" in the Western press, was neither in charge of the Russian atomic energy effort nor among the most actively engaged. Similarly, Mr. Kramish argues that there is evidence to indicate Kapitsa's celebrated house arrest was brought on not because he refused to work on nuclear weapons, but because he "was strongly prejudiced against uranium isotope separation on the grounds of technical and economic feasibility," and thereby invoked the wrath of Beria, who controlled the program at the time.

Atomic Energy in the Soviet Union is the first popular treatment of what the Russians have done and hope to do with atomic energy. Mr. Kramish has managed to keep technical jargon to a minimum. The book is a unique contribution to the library of volumes about the incredible world of the atom – a world of which large parts are still inaccessible to the public, frozen by secrecy.

Escape from Louisville

by Alan Levy

In 1953, Edmund Jude Naughton replaced me as an obscure police reporter on a Louisville newspaper. I had been drafted. I didn't meet my replacement until I returned to work in early 1956.

He was a sharply-dressed, natty-looking intellectual hobo who was holding his first newspaper job. He had just turned 30. He had worked as a smelter in Montana, a Tammany Hall do-gooder in New York, a messman on an ore boat traveling the Great Lakes, a French teacher at a Catholic school in Brooklyn (what little French he spoke was atrocious), and a research interviewer. He had lost the last job because he "made up answers that were too convincing."

McCabe
by Edmund Naughton
(Macmillan; $2.95)

At any hour, Naughton might be encountered prowling the streets of Louisville. Hollow-cheeked and pale-faced, he soon became a familiar sight in an overgrown small town of half a million. Naughton had a piercing look that reminded me of a saint searching for immortality or a riverboat gambler seeking a game on dry land. One of his colleagues complained: "You can see Naughton looking at you a block away and when you do, you feel like checking if all your buttons are buttoned."

Although he averaged about four bylines a year, Naughton became as well-known around Louisville as any other newsman. He had a passionate romance with a stunning suburbanite that ended suddenly one December. Naughton described disenchantment succinctly:

"I asked her what she wanted for Christmas. She said an Angel Record. I asked her which one and she said any Angel Record would do."

Breaking in on the police beat is a valuable experience for any novice newsmen. But spending more than six months there is oppressive. When I came back from the Army, Naughton had been phoning in fender-dentings and fatals for two whole years. He was trying to get out of the "padded cell" (as the windowless reporters' room at police headquarters is called), but his role as a character actor worked against any chance at front-office stardom.

He tried every escape hatch. He spent many weekends poring through files and writing letters for a Sunday profile of Carmine de Sapio. When it was ready, Naughton's superiors noted that one New Yorker certainly could write well about other New Yorkers and wasn't it a shame that nobody could write about Louisvillians that way?

Naughton *wanted* to write about Kentucky. On one of his off-days, he rode a Greyhound to Clay and Sturgis, two Kentucky towns that had become centers of segregationist depravity. What he saw became an article in *The New Republic*.

This may have helped his journalistic prestige. Shortly thereafter, he was liberated from the police beat for one night a week and brought up to the main office to write obituaries. He had hopes, but he was not destined to scale any higher pinnacle than that of "Monday night obit man." His whole spindly body seemed clenched into one tense knot as he fought each undertaker's flat recitation and tried to breathe life into a three-paragraph obit of the deadest boilermaker or the most colorless housepainter. It often took two men to rewrite Naughton's meager output.

"Buck fever," said his more detached acquaintances, but Ed's newness didn't wane, even after a year of Monday night obits. His few admirers knew better. They knew one reason why Naughton had trouble bringing the necessary clerical competence to life's last routine checkout: he was a writer.

Now Naughton has a book out. It is a 146-page "novel of the West" called *McCabe* and the writing is as lean as the title, as exciting as the squeezed

THE FACTS ABOUT NIXON

On January 8, 1960, Viking Press will publish William Costello's The Facts About Nixon, *expanded from his articles appearing in this journal. The 340-page book will sell at retail for $3.95, but will be available to* New Republic *readers at a 25 percent discount, or $2.95. You may wish to place your order now. Send your name and address, with payment, to:*

Book Department
The New Republic
1244 19th St., N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

and your copies will be sent immediately upon publication. The New Republic *will pay postage.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

XMAS BOOK SALE

Exciting books for the whole family! New books from leading publishers, many at bargain prices. Limited quantities.

1. Sir Richard Burton's KASIDAH OF HAJI ABDU. In a magnificent gold-stamped binding this Golden Eagle Press Edition of the classic poem is superbly produced. Ltd. EDITION. $1.49

2. ALBERT EINSTEIN'S WORLD AS I SEE IT. On the world, his work, God, etc. Pub. at $3 Sale $1

3. RADIO & TV'S UNEXPECTED ANSWERS. A lively anthology of bright, witty, naive and naughty sayings that somehow or other slipped out over the airwaves, to the networks' embarrassment. Softcover. 25c

4. DANCERS THRU THE AGES. 65 fullpage plates. All the magic, beauty and grace of the dance—as it inspired artists from the cave men to Degas. $1.98

5. THE CREATIVE MIND. The last of Henri Bergson's great works. $2.98

6. SEX: METHODS AND MANNERS, by Dr. I. Berg. Most direct straightforward guide to achieving sex happiness in marriage ever written. Controversial and startling in parts. Illus. $3.50

7. LINCOLN IN MARBLE AND BRONZE, by F. Bullard. How the great sculptors have seen the immortal President is revealed in this fascinating account, along with 68 vivid photos of the most famous sculptures. Sale: $2.98

8. THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT. 17 of our greatest political scientists examine different governments of the world. The stubbornness of tradition in "democratic" post-war Germany, the docility of the Japanese masses, World Federation—its advantages and drawbacks. 17 forceful, absorbing chapters. Pub. $6.75 $1.98

9. ACADEMIC PROCESSION: AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN COLLEGE. Ernest Earnest's lively look at higher education. Rowdy, free-wheeling students versus the villagers, subversion on the campus, student's 'sex codes', secret societies, etc. Illus. Sale: $1.98

10. PRIVATE LIVES OF THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF WINDSOR. Norman Lockridge's explosive book that the New York Police Department suppressed. Inside stories never told before. $5

11. CIVIL LIBERTIES UNDER ATTACK. Six bold men argue persuasively, with wit and wisdom, vital questions of the preservation of our liberties. Softbound. Pub. at $3.50. Sale: $1.25

12. SEXUAL ABERRATIONS, by W. Steckel. Classic work on the disorders of the instincts and emotions, with particular reference to fetishism in all its puzzling and fascinating variety. 2 vols. $10

13. WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS. Here is a masterpiece of fine bookmaking, is one of the most moving and touching orations in the history of mankind. Golden Eagle Press. $1.49

14. FRENCH CARTOONS. Saucy, sophisticated cartoons, mostly concerned with l'amour. 50¢

15. LINCOLN IN CARICATURE. Rich collection of 163 full-page caricatures—some extremely rare, some extremely shocking. Pub. at $7.50. $2.98

16. THE FAIR SEX. 54 magnificent studies of the undraped female figure, as captured by great photographers. Many full page, in color. $1

17. THE METAPHYSICAL LOVE. Magnificent, beautifully illustrated-in-color edition of Abraham Cowley's soul-stirring love poems. Specially bound. Handsomely boxed. LTD. EDITION. $1.49

18. THE MALE HORMONE. Paul de Kruif tells without blushes or polite evasions the story of the sex hormones and its new gleam of hope for prolonging man's prime of life. $1.98

19. WHAT IS HEART DISEASE? Dr. Gordon's vital book for the heart patient—and those who want to avoid being one. Illus. $1

20. LINGUAPIX. The tourist's pocket picture-dictionary. Practical, invaluable. Thumb-indexed. $1

21. F.D.R.: COLUMNIST. The hitherto uncollected writings of Roosevelt as a substitute newspaper columnist. $1.98

22. BETTER HEARING, by L. Brentano. Practical guidance for the hard-of-hearing. Dozens of ways to overcome handicap of weakened hearing. Illus. $1.49

23. AUTO-EROTISM, by W. Stekel. Scholarly study challenging the morbid, superstitious and frightening half-truths concerning this sexual practice. $4.95

24. FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. A History and An Argument, by Col. McCormick. Scarce and unusual. $1.49

25. Vets: YOU GOT IT COMING TO YOU! The only book containing complete information for the serviceman, veteran, and members of his family. Answers to questions about rights, benefits and privileges. "Worth its weight in Government checks." $3.95

26. ARTIST'S MODELS, by J. Evared. Over 1,200 superb art studies of the human figure—every pose and action the artist must need. Contents: 500 photos of posed nudes; 100 five-minute sketch poses, etc. 8"x11". Import. $10

27. Justice Holmes in the Civil War: TOUCHED WITH FIRE, Letters and diaries, chock full of vivid reporting and sharp humor, written by Oliver Wendell Holmes as a Union officer. Ill. $1.98

28. LOVE AND MARRIAGE THRU THE AGES, by L. Harris. Sexual communion, the capture of women, buying a wife, etc. 25c

29. SELECTED WRITINGS OF DE SADE. Copious extracts from such notorious works as JUSTINE, JULIETTE, and other classics make up this volume. $4.95

30. LINCOLN AND THE WAR GOVERNORS, by W. B. Hesseltine. Here, told for the first time, is Lincoln's wartime struggle for troops and supplies with his own Northern governors. Pub. $6. Sale: $1.98

31. HOW PRAYER HELPS ME. Powerful and inspiring testimonials by 71 famous Americans. Pub. $3. Sale: 75c

32. THE FLIMSEY REPORT, Or, Is Sex Here To Stay: Fun with Dr. Flimsey and his report on the sex life of the American female. Dozens of lively cartoons, jokes, limericks, poems, etc. Softcover. 50c

33. CHRISTMAS TALES FOR READING ALOUD. A handsome boxed edition of prose and verse masterpieces from Dickens, Bret Harte, Anderson and O. Henry. Beautiful Gift Edition. Paper label. Pub. at $7.50. Sale: $3.75

FREE!! With every order over $5 we will include free "THE BETTER WAY." Up-to-date information of practical use and general interest to everyone. Hundreds of topics and tips. Illustrated.

WORLD WIDE BOOK SERVICE **NR 8**
525 Broadway, New York 12

Gentlemen: Please send me, postage prepaid, the books numbered below. I understand if my order is over $5 I will receive ABSOLUTELY FREE "THE BETTER WAY." I enclose $.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trigger on the dust jacket. It's the traditional tale of the ex-gunman who just wants to be left alone, but it's also a pungent plea for involvement, opportunity, and recognition on one's own merits – all the invisible towers Ed Naughton was looking for when he roamed the low-slung city of Louisville.

Naughton's ex-gunman, a 19th-Century gambler, Pudgy McCabe, is a semi-respectable small town merchant of vice until the Snake River Mining Company tries to re-develop his community into a "company town." Despite his own good sense and a reasonable offer – plus a loving woman who steals his shotgun to "avoid" trouble – McCabe fights a doomed, lonely battle. Vanity, an aversion to drabness, and vague cravings for freedom and immortality drive McCabe as relentlessly as a studio clock closing out a TV Western.

By the time he had written and sold a book, Naughton knew that he would not find his slice of life in Louisville. He took his thousand-dollar advance on royalties and went to Europe. He wandered about his ancestral Ireland for a few weeks and then settled in Paris. When the money ran out, he found a job on the Paris *Herald Tribune's* copy desk, of all places.

The last time I saw Paris, I saw Naughton. It was a few months ago. He was eagerly awaiting publication of *McCabe* and maybe he was looking for copies in the hands of the people he stared at. His French was still atrocious.

MOVIES

Waiting for the End

Shortly before his death in 1946, H. G. Wells reportedly composed his own epitaph: "God damn you all; I told you so." Indeed he did tell us, and since then there have been many others, their number increased by the atomic atmosphere, to point out that our present road leads to the abyss. Still we cling to the road, fenced in principally by stupid pride and proud stupidity. "Better death than dishonor," the maiden used to proclaim in old plays, but it was her death or her dishonor. If she jumped out the window, she didn't take nine-tenths of the human race with her.

On the Beach
(United Artists)

The latest warning about the consequences of atomic war – and without question the one which will be seen by most people – is Stanley Kramer's film of Nevil Shute's best-selling novel *On the Beach*. The book has frightened hundreds of thousands, the film will frighten millions – in a good cause. In such a cause, possibly the most urgent in history, is it relevant to criticize the artistic merits of the effort? Yes.

Anatole France's juggler paid his tribute to Mary by performing his act – the best tribute he could give. Shute, a skillful romancer, paid his tribute to the great issue of his time by spinning a skillful romance about it. Neither with the juggler nor with Shute did the gravity of the occasion raise the intrinsic quality of the tribute. John Paxton's screenplay condenses all the virtues and faults of the novel, and Kramer has directed with a mixture of high seriousness and sentimentality. All these men mean generally well and, to a degree, have done well; but until the Bomb actually does go off, there will still be a difference between art and *kitsch*. Perhaps even after.

The scene is Australia after atomic war has taken place in northern latitudes. Now the Australian people are simply waiting for the radiant dust to be borne southwards towards them; under sentence of death, they live out their last months. To them comes an American submarine, last survivor of our navy, which subsequently makes an exploratory cruise to northern waters only to find desolation from Alaska down. The submarine returns to Australia to confirm the death sentence. There is a neatly balanced group of characters: the American commander; a rootless, unhappy beauty; a gallant fellow hopelessly in love with her; a young couple with a baby. One could concede the neatness of balance of the cast if the suspicion of soap-opera cross-section were not re-enforced by the vacuousness of much of the writing, by the clichés and contrivances.

Kramer's direction, too, is severely tainted – disappointingly inferior to *The Defiant Ones*. He does excellent things like an auto race whose drivers don't care if they are killed, chilling scenes of people lining up politely for suicide pills, Salvation Army rallies calling for repentance with gradually diminishing crowds. (The last of these is absolutely deserted, with a banner reading "There Is Still Time – Brother" flapping ironically.) But he freights his film with trite trash like the heroine's visit to the submarine with sailors ogling her (right out of any old Ann Sheridan picture); with middle-brow artistic effects (sun dancing on water behind a kiss or slow circling by the camera of another kiss); and with love and family scenes that are sheer woman's-magazine. In sum, when the film hews close to its theme, it is effective and valuable; when it deals with its characters as characters, it is often phony. This is not an academic distinction because the corn undermines the reality. Just when we are gripped by horror, along comes a pure Hollywood touch to remind us that what we are seeing is only a movie.

Nor is Kramer substantially aided by his cast. Gregory Peck, the submarine commander, embodies Gordon Craig's ideal of an actor: an *Übermarionette*, wooden to the core. Anthony Perkins, the young husband, continues to ravage his talent by giving us cute mannerisms practiced before a mirror instead of the authentic acting of which he is capable. Donna Anderson, his wife, is unremarkable. Fred Astaire, in his first non-musical role as the hopeless lover, is

Notes on Contributors

Frank Getlein *and his wife, Dorothy Getlein, have just published a new book,* Christianity in Art. Howard Simons, *formerly news editor of* Science Service *is now a contributing editor of this journal.* Alan Levy *is the author of a forthcoming book,* Operation Elvis, *which will be published in the spring.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

still an attractive fellow but a dreadful actor. One can endure Astaire's unconvincing readings and slightly embarrassed butterfly presence when one knows that he is only filling in the gaps between songs and marvelous dances. Here, stripped of that subconscious assurance, we are forced to put more strain on his power of conviction than it can bear. He demonstrates once more that, as with Ed Wynn, a fine performer is not necessarily an actor.

A pleasant surprise in the cast is Ava Gardner, who captures considerable of the hunger and self-disgust of the heart-sick drunk she plays.

It is worth noting that, in an extraordinary business deal unrelated to the recent official exchange of films between the US and the USSR, the Soviets have contracted to show *On the Beach* in the immediate future. The subtitles will be provided here, and the Russians have agreed not to alter them. These facts may indicate a wish on the Russians' part to portray this country as something other than a warmonger. And, from the political propaganda view, this use of the picture is an admirable feather in Kramer's well-plumed cap. But utility is a treacherous standard in art; so is such a consideration as Kramer's courage in making this picture. After the propaganda value and the producer's courage are weighed, the film must stand or fall by its effect on the viewer, whether he be American or Russian or Tasmanian; and that effect, as detailed above, is seriously qualified by mediocrities of writing, acting, and direction. Kramer, like the rest of us, doesn't want the world to be blown up; but he doesn't want to lose money saying so. The mold is iron, but the content has a lot of gelatin in it.

Perhaps in his caution, too, he is like the rest of us. We don't want destruction, but we don't want to lose anything in order to prevent it. So, in the end, this film is more of a microcosm of our parlous state than it intended to be.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

RECORDS

Outstanding Records of 1959

Bach: Suites for cello; Casals (for performances only) (Angel). Concertos in D minor for 2 violins, in A minor and E for violin; I Musici (Epic; stereo). Brandenburg Concertos; Goldberg and Netherlands Chamber Orchestra (Epic).

Beethoven: Bagatelles and *Eroica* Variations for piano; Matthews (Vanguard). Piano Concerto No. 4; Fleisher with Cleveland Orchestra under Szell E; (Epic; stereo reduce bass). Mass in C; Beecham with Royal Philharmonic, Vyvyan, Lewis, etc. (Capitol).

Boccherini: Quintets Op. 18 No. 5, Op. 40 No. 2; Quintetto Boccherini (Angel).

Bonporti: Concertos; I Musici (Epic).

Cherubini: *Medea* (excerpts); Farrell with orchestra under Gamson (Columbia; stereo; reduce treble).

Donizetti: *Don Pasquale;* Noni, Valletti, Bruscantini, conducted by Rossi (Cetra).

Gesualdo: Vocal pieces; singers under Craft (Columbia; stereo).

Gluck: *Orpheus and Eurydice;* Gedda, Micheau, conducted by Froment (Angel).

Handel: *Water Music;* Hewitt Orchestra (Haydn Society). Concerti Grossi Op. 6 Nos. 4, 9, 10; I Musici (Epic; stereo). Suites Nos. 1, 5, 7, 8 for harpsichord; Heiller (Vanguard; stereo). Arias; Lewis with London Symphony under Sargent (Capitol). *Dettingen Te Deum;* Netherlands Bach Society, etc., under Van der Horst (Epic).

Haydn: Quartets Op. 75 Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6; Schneider Quartet (Haydn Society). Quartets Op. 71 and Op. 74; Griller Quartet (Vanguard; stereo). Piano Sonatas Nos. 43, 20, 42, 23, 13 (Peters Nos. 8, 25, 28, 21, 18); Balsam (Washington). Symphony No. 104; Kempe and London Philharmonia (Capitol; increase bass).

Mahler: Symphony No. 10; Szell and Cleveland Orchestra (Epic).

Manfredini: Concertos; I Musici (Epic).

Monteverdi: *Madrigali amorosi* from *Eighth Book of Madrigals;* Deller Consort (Vanguard; stereo). *Lasciatemi morire* and *Ch'io t'ami;* Netherlands Chamber Choir under De Nobel (Angel).

Mozart: *The Marriage of Figaro;* Tozzi, London, Della Casa, Peters, Elias, Vienna Philharmonic under Leinsdorf (Victor; stereo). *Figaro* (excerpts); Kunz, London, Schwarzkopf, Seefried, Jurinac, Vienna Philharmonic under Von Karajan (Angel). *Idomeneo;* Jurinac, Simoneau, Lewis, Udovick, conducted by Pritchard (Angel). Piano Concerto K.503; Fleisher with Cleveland Orchestra under Szell (Epic; stereo; reduce bass). Symphony K.338; Kempe and London Philharmonia (Capitol; increase bass).

Musorgsky: *Boris Godunov* (original version, but abridged); Metropolitan Opera production conducted by Mitropoulos, with Tozzi (Victor). Songs (some badly orchestrated); Christoff (sings some poorly) (Angel).

Palestrina: *Sicut cervus, Soave fia morir, Adoramus te Christe* and other pieces; Netherlands Chamber Choir under De Nobel (Angel).

Purcell: *Come Ye Sons of Art;* Ritchie, Morison, Lewis, Herbert, Deller, conducted by Anthony Lewis (Oiseau-Lyre).

Rimsky-Korsakov: *Russian Easter* Overture and Suite from *Le Coq d'Or;* Goossens and London Philharmonia (Capitol).

Rossini: *William Tell;* Carteri, Teddei, Corena, Tozzi, conducted by Rossi (Cetra). *Cenerentola;* Simionato, Valletti, conducted by Rossi (Cetra). *The Barber of Seville;* De los Angeles, Monti, conducted by Serafin (Capitol).

Strauss: Songs; Fischer-Dieskau and Moore (Angel).

Tchaikovsky: *The Nutcracker* (excerpts); Kurtz and London Philharmonia (Capitol; stereo, has crackling noises).

Verdi: *Don Carlo;* Stella, Gobbi, Christoff, conducted by Santini (Capitol). *Simon Boccanegra;* Gobbi, De los Angeles, Christoff, conducted by Santini (Capitol). Arias from *Nabucco, Ernani, Don Carlo, Macbeth;* Callas with London Philharmonia under Rescigno (Angel).

Victoria: Requiem Mass; Choir of Abbey of Mt. Angel under Nicholson and Portland Symphonic Choir under Zimmerman (Victor). *Officium defunctorum* and other pieces; Netherlands

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chamber Choir under De Nobel (Angel).

Vivaldi: *The Four Seasons*; Zimbler Sinfonietta (Boston).

Wagner: *Tristan and Isolde*; Flagstad, Suthaus, London Philharmonia under Furtwaengler (Capitol).

Collections: Old vocal polyphony; Wagner Chorale (Capitol); Les Petits Chanteurs de la Renaissance under Noyre and Pagot (Haydn Society). Old and modern vocal polyphony; Washington Cathedral Choir (Vanguard). Albanese in excerpts from *Eugene Onegin, Figaro, Don Giovanni, Don Pasquale, Carmen* (Victor). Bjoerling in arias from *Aida, Rigoletto, L'Elisir d'Amore, Eugene Onegin* (Victor). Valletti in arias from *Don Giovanni, The Barber of Seville, L'Italiana in Algeri, La Sonnambula* (Cetra). De los Angeles in Spanish songs (Capitol). Rysanek in arias from *Aida, La Forza del Destino, Otello* (Victor). Schipa in arias from *L'Elisir d'Amore, Rigoletto* etc. (Scala). Slezak in arias and songs (Scala). Supervia in excerpts from Carmen (Odéon; reduce treble).

And one of the year's great events is the record, COLH-29, on which Angel has just reissued the historic performance of Beethoven's Trio Op. 97 (*Archduke*) that Cortot, Thibaud and Casals recorded in 1928 – a performance in which Casals plays with his powerful tone and phrasing and the other two with their grace and intimate warmth; they operate wonderfully together.

Stereophonic versions of previously issued recordings that give finer sound than the monophonic are Angel S-35620, with the Cantelli performance of Beethoven's Seventh (reduce bass, increase treble); Vanguard BGS-5004, with Gabrieli's Processional and Ceremonial Music; and the following Londons: CS-6009, with Stravinsky's *Fifebird*; 6017, with his *Petrushka*; 6025, with the Argenta performance of Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique*; 6005, with the Rossini-Respighi *Boutique Fantasque*; 6027, with Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 99 and 94 (*Surprise*) (reduce bass, use 7-kc cutoff); 6001 with Mendelssohn's *Midsummer Night's Dream* music (reduce treble and bass). Angel S-3546, with Handel's *Solomon*, has high-frequency distortion in some of the loud choral passages.

B. H. HAGGIN

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

Our Strength and Theirs

Sirs:

I agree with your November 23 comments on the value of Allen Dulles' testimony to the Joint Economic Committee regarding the "dangerously" narrowing margin of our economic superiority over the Soviets. But I am surprised that you failed to note the fact that Mr. Dulles was unprecedentedly testifying *in public* to a Congressional Committee, giving intelligence estimates which strongly imply policy recommendations. This is a unique role for the chief of any government's intelligence system.

Until this incident the Director of Central Intelligence has been unwilling to take on what might be called a political role. Could it be that Mr. Dulles is demonstrating a deep frustration with the unwillingness of Administration leadership to present these hard, cold, unpleasant facts to Congress and the people?

Harry Howe Ransom
Defense Studies Program
Harvard University

Sirs:

You seem to disagree with Governor Rockefeller's assertion that labor should refrain from seeking the remedy for technological unemployment in shortening working time. Yet you voice approval of Allen Dulles' warnings that we must step up our rate of industrial growth to stay ahead of the Russians.

Now surely the way to step up industrial growth is to take full advantage of automation to shift workers from fields where machines can replace them to fields where there are shortages – fields that range from underpaid hospital orderlies to underpaid school teachers, members of skilled trades and technicians. These shifts will not be made, however, while relatively unskilled steelworkers, teamsters and the like are offered shorter hours and more pay – for the simple reason that there is no incentive to learn skilled trades and the

EUROPE
We'll see the usual plus Russia, Scandinavia, Yugoslavia & N. Africa. A different trip—for the young in spirit who don't want to be herded around. Also shorter trips. Budget priced.
EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Box N — Pasadena, California

TEACHERS . . . STUDENTS
We offer a comprehensive selection of quotations relevant to the question of labor-management relations, as well as a sizeable bibliography, glossary, and discussion of historical background. $4.25
CAMBRIDGE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES
Room 301, 4 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING"
Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free.
Sleep-Learning Research Association
Box 24-NR Olympia, Washington

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS
Name the book—we'll find it for you! All subjects —no obligation to buy. Write Books-On-File. Dept. NR, Union City, New Jersey.

FREE BOOK-BARGAIN LISTS
in history, politics, Americana.
Flushing Books, Department D
67-12 186th St. Flushing 67, N. Y.

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS
Economical, insured household moving. Vans, station wagons. Any time, any place. The Padded Wagon, AL 5-8343 (NYC)

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Unconditional money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

AN ANALYSIS of the folly of voting. 10 cents per copy. P.O. Box 592; Lexington, Kentucky.

LEARN ESPERANTO. The Universal Language. Send for "Introduction to Esperanto" for ten days examination, Free. Then return or send $2.
H. E. DILLINGER Placerville, California

BERTRAND RUSSELL, H. J. Muller, Margaret Sanger, Julian Huxley and others pictured in the 1960 Humanist Calendar. Quotations, space for daily notes. $1 postpaid.
L. MORAIN,
116 East 31 St. #7 New York 1, N. Y.

EDUCATION MAGAZINE needs a Santa Claus. Bright young publisher's dream will fail without financial support. Trying to start a worthwhile vocational guidance magazine for students. Donations gratefully acknowledged with subscriptions. N. Y. investors also sought.
AARDVARK HOUSE, c/o C.H.M.
6 East 31 St. #7 New York 1, N. Y.

THE SPHINX—the ONLY Coffee House review, and journal of the arts. Fiction, poetry, criticisms, travel, dance and drama. Subscription $4.50, twelve issues. Send check to 2425 Laurel Pass, Los Angeles 46, California.

PROFESSIONAL ASSISTANCE
IN WRITING, REWRITING, EDITING
Stories, novels, books, articles.
Manuscripts marketed. Brochure Free.
PUBLISHER'S AGENCY
33 West 42nd St. New York 36.

Printed by National Publishing Co., 301 N St., N.W., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

like while the relatively unskilled can sell less time for more money than their skilled brethren can.

Moreover, the relatively underpaid cannot buy enough of the products of the relatively overpaid to keep expansion going in industry if the potential cost reductions which automation offers are to be absorbed in wage raises and reductions in working time by the workers in automated industries. These cost reductions must be shared by all groups in our economy or expansion will not occur because there will not be enough customers to pay for it.

Helen Bugbee
Chicago, Illinois

The Arithmetic of Slum Clearance

Sirs:

Concerning Steiner's "Arithmetic of Slum Clearance," (November 16) the valuation of slum properties is often misleading. Many buildings become slums through being cut up into numerous smaller apartments, usually having a *higher* total rent than before. From the standpoint of the owner, interested in rental income, the slum has *increased* in value. And so taxes, which are apparently based on aesthetic values, drop precisely when the owner's income rises. It seems reasonable to suggest that taxes on rental property should be assessed in proportion to the total rents. A sales tax, as it were. This might somewhat discourage the deliberate creation of slums, and would at least make their existence less fiscally painful to the city government. As it is, reducing the taxes on slums is in effect granting a subsidy to the slum owners at the expense of other property.

George W. Price
Chicago, Illinois

Integrity and Advertising

Sirs:

I agree with Howard K. Smith (*NR*, November 16) that he is not swayed or concerned about his surroundings on CBS. He stands aside as his sponsors bray untrue and offensive commercials about headache remedies. But is he untouched by the deception that is found out before and after he is on?

R. M. Stapley
Homewood, Illinois

Who'll Buy My Cranberries?

Sirs:

Yours is the first complete and accurate story about the cranberry episode I have seen (November 30). No newspaper, except *The Washington Post* somewhat belatedly, and not even *The New York Times* had the story correctly. I congratulate you on extremely accurate reporting.

T. Swann Harding
Rehoboth Beach, Delaware

Costello's Nixon Series

Sirs:

Many people have spoken to me about the Costello series on Nixon. All of them feel that it is by far the best of anything that has been written about him and the most effective.

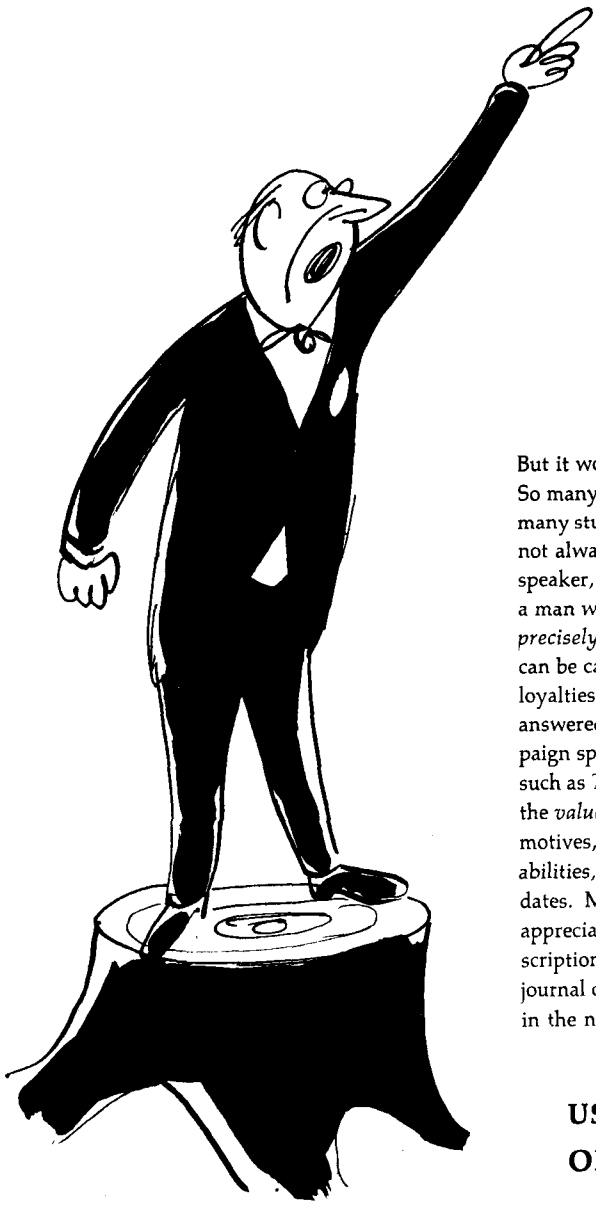
A number of people have inquired as to whether the completed story will be available for circulation.

C. T. Vincent
Whittier, California

In reply:

It will. As noted elsewhere in this issue, Viking Press will publish *The Facts about Nixon* in January. The book will be sold retail at $3.95 and can be ordered through *The New Republic* at $2.95.

— THE EDITORS



He could be saying something

But it won't be easy to know next year. So many words will be spoken from so many stumps or TV studios, and they will not always be words written by the speaker, or understood by him. What a man who wants to be elected means *precisely*, how he believes his program can be carried out, where his deepest loyalties lie – such questions are not answered by a casual reading of campaign speeches. The business of a journal such as *The New Republic* is to assess the *value* of the words, and also the motives, the political and intellectual abilities, and the past record of candidates. Many of your friends would appreciate your sending them a subscription for 1960 to America's *only* journal of opinion edited and published in the nation's capital.

USE THE CHRISTMAS ORDER BLANK INSIDE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED